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GUIDING ANIMALS

By ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE

In his admirable *Deutsche Mythologie*, Jacob Grimm devoted a page or two to the subject 'Wegweisende Tiere' or 'Guiding Animals.'¹ Since the publication of that work the material has been immensely enlarged, and a new survey will therefore be useful.

Many of the classical traditions about guiding animals are of course well known. Thus Cadmus, on the advice of the Delphic oracle, was guided by a cow to the grove of Ares; where she lay down he founded the city of Thebes [1].² A cow was fabled also to have indicated the site on which Troy was to be built; for Ilos, so the story reads, had been told by an oracle of Apollo to found a city wherever he should see one of his cows fall [2].³ According to a variant of the tale, Ilos, after winning a wrestling match, obtained from the king of Phrygia, in accordance with an oracle, a dappled or variegated cow with instructions that wherever it should lie down he should found a city. A cow went before him to the hill of the Phrygian Ate and there lay down. So Ilos founded a city and called it *Ilion* [3].⁴ In Epirus the city of Buthrotos was said to have been built on a site indicated by a cow [4]. Helenus, so the story runs, after landing on the shores of Epirus, presented a thank offering to the gods. But the victim, an ox, after receiving the mortal blow, swam across the neighboring bay, to die on the opposite shore. There Helenus, taking the hint the gods had given him, built the 'city of the wounded ox' (βουτρωτός).⁵ There can be little doubt about the story having been invented to explain the name of the town. The Macedonian community of Aigai, the ancient residence and burial place of the Macedonian kings, was fabled to have been founded by Archelaus, who followed a goat to the site of the future city [5].⁶ Here again the origin of the tradition is obvious: it serves only one purpose, to explain the name of the town, derived from αἶξ 'goat'. What is more, this tradition is neither the oldest nor the only one to attempt thus to account for the name of Aigai. Herodotus (VIII. 137) derives it from the occupation of its founder, a goatherd. An Argive tradition appears to have attributed a like rôle to

¹ Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Berlin, 1875-78, II, 954.

² O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1906, I, 85, n. 4; A. B. Cook, *Zeus I* (Cambridge, 1914), p. 540 f.

³ Lycophr. 29 ff.; Cook, *Zeus I*, 468 f.

⁴ Apollod. III. 12. 3.

⁵ *Etym. M.*, p. 210, 22; Steph. Byz. s.v. βουτρωτός; Gruppe, *op. cit.*, I, 350, n. 9.

⁶ Hyg. *fab.* 219.

the ram (xάρνος), subsequently identified with Apollo [6].⁷ In Italy a *ver sacrum* of Sabines is led by a bull: where it lies down the tribe is to found its new settlements [7].⁸ A sow appears as a guide of the exiled Trojans, leading them to the site of Lavinium, i.e., probably, the oldest settlement of Ostia [8].⁹ The Umbro-Sabellian tribes, under the guidance of a steer (*vitulus*) advanced into the very toe of Italy, whence they subsequently crossed the Strait into Sicily. Accordingly they called their capital *Bovianum*, from *bos* 'steer' [9].¹⁰ Mention might also be made of the horse of Constantine which indicates the lines of the future city wall of Constantinople [10].¹¹ According to an Egyptian tradition of unknown date, dogs guided Isis during her search for the body of Osiris, and this is the reason why at the festival of Isis the procession was led by dogs [11].¹² Here the myth obviously explains a ritual peculiarity and the fact that the dog was a holy animal in Egypt.

The guiding beast is not necessarily a domesticated animal. Thus a tradition had it that at Boiai, Artemis, who enjoyed a local cult under the title of *Soteira*, had sent a hare to the founders, colonists in search of a new settlement, and that the animal had disappeared in a myrtle bush which was ever afterwards sacred to the goddess [12].¹³ If it is remembered that Artemis was a lunar divinity and that the hare is a typical lunar animal all over the world,¹⁴ the conclusion will be accepted that the hare was the goddess in person. Even more picturesque is the story of the foundation of Ephesus as related by Athenaeus (VIII. 62), drawing on Creophylus' *Annals of the Ephesians*. The prospective colonists of Ephesus were told by an oracle to build a city where a fish should show them and to which a wild boar should guide them. Then it happened that some fishermen were having their breakfast near the shore, when a fish leaped up with a burning cinder sticking to it, setting a thicket on fire and thus dislodging a wild boar who promptly ran up a mountain before being killed by javelins. He fell on the site of the subsequent temple of Athena. In that neighborhood, then, the Ephesians, realising that the conditions of the

⁷ H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1912-14, IV, 288.

⁸ Strabo, V. 4. 12.

⁹ Dion. Hal. I. 55 f.; cf. Jérôme Carcopino, "Virgile et les origines d'Ostie" [Bibl. Ec. Franç. d'Ath. et de Rome, CXVI], Paris, 1919, *passim*.

¹⁰ Th. Mommsen, *Die unteritalischen Dialekte*, Leipzig, 1850, p. 173.

¹¹ Aldhelm, *De laudibus virginum* [Opera, ed. J. A. Giles, Oxonii, 1844, p. 152-54; cf. Guil. Malm., *Hist.* IV. 2 (A.D. 1097); Hugo Gering, *Islendzk Aeventyri*, Halle, 1882-83, II, 12.

¹² Diod. I. 87. 3.

¹³ Paus. III. 22. 12; cf. also Sam Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 121 f.

¹⁴ Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*, London, 1927, II, 615 ff.

oracle had been fulfilled, founded their city [13].¹⁵ The founders of Lycorea are said to have followed a wolf [14]; but it is noteworthy that another story derives the name of the town from Lycorus, a son of Apollo and a nymph.¹⁶ At all events, this is another example of an aetiological tale invented to explain the name of the town. The guiding wolf reappears in Asia Minor, where it leads Leto to the river Xanthus, in Lycia, whence it is that this country, formerly called *Trimilis*, received its new and classical name (from λύκος 'wolf') [15].¹⁷ Here again the aetiological origin and purpose of the tale is obvious, as may also be seen from the fact that there existed other explanations of the name.¹⁸ In Italy, the Hirpini were led by a wolf to their settlements; but their name, too, is inseparable from the word *hirpus* 'wolf' [16]. Lastly, many unknown wild beasts were said to have gone before Hannibal, leading the way as he was crossing the Ebro on his march to Italy [17].¹⁹ The Vergil commentator Servius has preserved a tradition according to which a Cretan, Icadus by name, travelling by sea with his brother Iapys, was led by a dolphin to Mt. Parnassus. The Cretan called the place *Krisa*, i.e. Crete, and there erected a temple to Apollo, calling the site *Delphi* from the animal [18].²⁰

Equally common are bird guides. In the shape of a raven, his sacred bird, Apollo led the people of Therae across the Mediterranean to Africa, where they were to found the city of Cyrene [19].²¹ Apollo's white raven acts as a guide to the emigrating Boeotians [20].²² According to Callisthenes and Aristobulus, two ravens or crows, flying in advance of the army, showed Alexander the Great the road to the oasis of Zeus Ammon [21].²³ The people of Orchomenus are led by a crow to the tomb of Hesiod, who as a poet was the protégé of Apollo [22].²⁴ In the case of the emigrating Piceni a woodpecker perched on their *vexillum*, a tradition which cannot be separated from the name of the tribe, evidently connected with *picus* 'woodpecker' [23].²⁵ Two doves are the guides of the pious Aeneas [24],²⁶ a circumstance hardly surprising if we remember that these birds were

¹⁵ Gruppe, *op. cit.*, II, 782; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896-1909, II, 432.

¹⁶ Paus. X. 6. 2; Sir William Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece I* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 166.

¹⁷ Anton. Lib., c. 35.

¹⁸ Serv. ad Verg. *Æn.* IV. 377.

¹⁹ Zonaras, VIII. 22.

²⁰ Serv. ad Verg. *Æn.* III. 332.

²¹ Callim. *h.* II. 66; cf. Franz Studniczka, *Kyrene*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 102, n. 23.

²² Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 133.

²³ Strabo, XVII. 1. 43; Arrian, *Anab.* III. 3. 5.

²⁴ Paus. IX. 38. 3.

²⁵ Strabo, V. 4. 2; Paul., p. 122, s.v. *Picena*.

²⁶ *Æn.* VI. 190 ff.

sacred to his divine mother. When the Chalcidians set out to found Cumae, in Italy, their fleet was guided by the flight of a dove, which flew before it [25].²⁷ This tradition was subsequently adopted by the Neapolitans and in this new form is mentioned by Statius, himself a Neapolitan [26].²⁸ At Megara, Pausanias (I. 40. 1) was told how Megarus, a son of Zeus and a nymph, had escaped from the Deucalian flood by taking refuge on the top of the Gerania mountains, whither he had been led by the cries of flying cranes (γερανοί) [27]. Obviously, this is just another aetiological tale, invented to explain the name of the mountain range in question. In Messenia, the inhabitants of Colonides had a tradition to the effect that they had been led thither from Attica by Coloenus, who followed a crested lark as his guide [28].²⁹

A snake appears as a guide to the founders of Epidaurus Limera [29]³⁰ and to Antinoe, the founder of Mantinea, whence the river flowing past the city was called *Ophis* 'serpent' [30].³¹ The last-named tradition is again clearly aetiological: it merely explains the name of the river. The former legend cannot be separated from the serpent of Asklepios, the chief divinity of the Argivian Epidaurus, whence the inhabitants of Epidaurus Limera derived their origin. The serpent of Asklepios reappears in a tradition of Lebena, where incubation was practised and where the serpent was said to have shown the way to a spring [31].³² Two snakes are mentioned in the story of Alexander's expedition to the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon, if the account of Ptolemy Lagus is to be believed. They are said to have preceded the army uttering speech, and the king bade his leaders follow them and trust the divine guidance. In fact, these serpents proved dependable guides to the shrine of the god and back again [32].³³ It is clear that, in view of Alexander's claim to be a son of Zeus Ammon, these snakes cannot well be separated from the serpent-shaped god who visited Olympias.³⁴

We have seen from story [18] that even aquatic animals may assume the rôle of guides. In this Delphian tradition it may occur to the reader that we are dealing with another aetiological story. Some caution is however required: Apollo Delphinus³⁵ is an ancient Cretan god worshipped

²⁷ Vel. Pat., *Hist. Rom.* I. 4. 1.

²⁸ Stat. *Silv.* III. 5. 79 f.

²⁹ Paus. IV. 34. 8. In German superstition the lark is credited with showing the right way to people lost in the woods; cf. A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1900, p. 407.

³⁰ Paus. III. 23. 6-7.

³¹ Paus. VIII. 8. 4.

³² Cf. Baunack, *Philologus*, XLIX (1890), p. 378; R. Meister, *ibid.*, L (1891), pp. 370 ff.

³³ Arrian, *Anab.* III. 3. 5.

³⁴ O. Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nektanebos*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 10.

³⁵ Wolf Aly, *Der kretische Apollonkult*, Tübingen, 1908, *passim*.

on the island long before the establishment of the Delphic shrine, devoted, originally, to a chthonian divinity. Very probably the name of the sanctuary attracted the god owing to a *rapprochement* of the place name with the Cretan god.³⁶

Pausanias (IX. 40. 2) relates how a swarm of bees guided the messengers of the Boeotians to the site of the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea [33].³⁷

Let us now pause to survey the material thus far accumulated. In it we may distinguish, first, a very large group of stories which are clearly aetiological in character and invented to explain a place name [4, 5, 9, 14, 15, 27, 30]. Stories [1]-[3] are no doubt somehow connected, inasmuch as they agree on the guiding animal being a cow. O. Gruppe was probably right in attributing this resemblance to a transfer of the Theban foundation legend by Boetian colonists. While the Theban story is admittedly the oldest of the three, it cannot be said to belong to the oldest fund of Boeotian legend; the true founders of Thebes were the twins Amphion and Zethus; Cadmus was a new-comer. It is therefore quite possible that the tale has something to do with the name of the country, *Boeotia*, derived, as is well known, from βῶς 'cow'.³⁸ Story [11], while not explaining a place name, is none the less aetiological. The Italian traditions embodied in [16] and [23] cannot be classed with this group, for reasons which will be discussed later on.

A second large group of tales appears to regard the guiding animal as a divinity, the incarnation of a god or goddess in animal form. This fact in most cases permits the further inference that the divinity in question was originally none other than the animal. Such is clearly the case in [6, 12, 19, 22, 24, 29, 31, 32].



In the Orient these traditions appear to be more rare; still, they are not altogether lacking. Thus the *Shah Nameh* tells how Rustem, close to dying from thirst in a desert, is guided to a spring by a ram [34].³⁹

This motive is of considerable antiquity. Thus the Vergil commentator Servius relates how Iarbas, like Alexander a son of Zeus Ammon, on leading his army through the Libyan desert, came close to perishing of thirst. He then invoked his divine father who pointed out a ram to him. Iarbas followed the tracks of the animal and soon reached a place where the ram, by striking the earth with his hoof, caused a spring to gush forth [35].⁴⁰

³⁶ Gruppe, I, 101 f.

³⁷ For bees as guides of emigrating tribes, cf. E. L. Rochholz, *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit*, Berlin, 1867, I, 148.

³⁸ This conjecture was made, more than a century ago, by Ludwig Uhland (*Schriften*, VIII, 27).

³⁹ Trad. Mohl, I (Paris, 1876), p. 407.

⁴⁰ Servius ad Verg. *Æn.* IV. 196; cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* VII. 125.

Much the same tale is told of Dionysos when on his return from India he crossed the desert.⁴¹ There can be little doubt that the god of the grape is here merely the *interpretatio graeca* of the native Iarbas. Again Tacitus (*Hist.* V. 3) explains the alleged ass cult of the Jews by a tradition according to which Moses had discovered abundant springs by following the tracks of wild asses [36].

The Macedonian legend of the founding of Aegai has a striking parallel in India, where a stag leads a hunting king into a region which a voice from heaven had previously designated as his future residence [37].⁴²

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Traditions of this type existed among the ancient Celts. Little need be said about the crows which, on late and doubtful authority, are said to have indicated the future site of Lugdunum, the present Lyons.⁴³ The tale seems to be a plagiarism, since eagles were fabled to have similarly indicated the future sites of Alexandria and Antioch.⁴⁴ Of much greater interest is the story reported by Trogus Pompeius, according to which the Gauls were said to have followed 'birds' in taking possession of the Danube valley [38]. In view of the important rôle of the raven and the crow in the religion of Celts and Germans,⁴⁵ it is at least likely that the birds in question were ravens or crows. What is certain is that the name of Bran, the god of the Celtic navigators, means 'raven', and the raven-god seems to have been the guide of navigators along the Atlantic coasts of Europe.⁴⁶ It even survived down into Christian times. Thus at the mouth of the Tagus, in the cathedral of Lisbon, the mortal remains of St. Vincent, the patron saint of sailors, have been deposited in an urn, after having been brought thither in a boat escorted by ravens, the descendants of which may still be seen in the courtyard.⁴⁷ Our theme was known in Ireland as well. Thus in the *Adventure of Teigne* the hero is promised the guidance of birds, clearly of a supernatural kind, which will entertain him with their song, driving away all sorrow, till he reach Ireland again [39].⁴⁸ A guiding falcon occurs in the Voyage of Maelduin [40].⁴⁹

⁴¹ Hyg. *fab.* 133; schol. Stat. *Theb.* III. 476.

⁴² E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois*, Paris, 1910-11, III, 289, No. 490.

⁴³ Plut. *de fluviis*, VI. 4.

⁴⁴ Jul. Val. *de rebus gestis Alexandri*, I. 30; Malala, *Chronogr.*, p. 200, ed. Bonn.

⁴⁵ Just. XXIV. 4. 1-3; Livy, V, 34. 2-4; cf. Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, CXIV (1936), p. 236 ff.

⁴⁶ Études celtiques, III (1939), p. 27-37.

⁴⁷ E. O. James, Folk-Lore, XLIII (1932), p. 281.

⁴⁸ A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain* [Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, VIII], Boston, 1903, p. 93.

⁴⁹ § 34.

Two types stand out in the stories just reviewed. In the first, [35] and [36], the tale merely exemplifies a well-known custom still observed by desert dwellers: it is based on the fact that the scent of animals is better developed than that of man and that they flair water at a considerable distance in desert countries. The second, represented by most of the Celtic stories, cannot be separated from [19]. It brings to mind a passage of the Icelandic *Landnama-Bók* (I. 2. 3), where mention is made of Floki Wilgerdsson who, on leaving Norway, in 864, for Iceland, sanctified three ravens, which were to show him the way. The first raven which he let go came quickly back to the ship; the second did so likewise, not however before having flown about for some time; the third flew away in the direction of the closest land, which was the island sought by the navigators.

This tale recalls at once the story of Noah in the Ark, who employed a raven and a dove in much the same manner. The same feature recurs in Berossus' version of the Babylonian flood legend, and in Plutarch's account of the Deucalian flood a dove plays a similar rôle.⁵⁰ From these facts F. C. Movers, as early as the middle of the last century, concluded that Mediterranean navigators used birds for purposes of orientation.⁵¹ As a matter of fact, Pliny the Elder (*N.H.* VI. 22. 83) mentions the same custom as existing among the navigators of Ceylon.⁵² There can be little doubt that the Celtic navigators of the Atlantic used the same device, which finds an echo in the tales here discussed.

This explanation does not cover story [38], which again cannot be separated from [20] and [21]. This motive has its basis in the well-known fact that swarms of ravens and crows accompany marching armies. Thus before the battle of Philippi birds of this type were seen to hover over the camp of Brutus and Cassius.⁵³ The chronicler Zonaras, speaking of the Bulgarian raids in the winter of 498 to 499, relates how a dense swarm of ravens preceded the Bulgarian armies, "as if that accursed people had made a pact with Death."⁵⁴ Before the battle of Crécy, swarms of ravens accompanied the French army.⁵⁵ Eye-witnesses observed the same phenomenon on the march of MacMahon's ill-fated army toward Sedan.⁵⁶ From such observations the notion of ravens guiding marching armies could, and doubtless did, arise rather easily.

It is more difficult to explain the woodpecker guide of the Piceni; for woodpeckers are shy birds which shun the company of man. To explain

⁵⁰ Plutarch, *de solert. anim.*, c. 13.

⁵¹ F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Bonn, 1841-56, III, 189.

⁵² Cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CXIV, 244 ff.

⁵³ Florus, *Epit.* IV. 7. 7; Dio Cassius, XLVII. 40. 8.

⁵⁴ Zonaras, XIV (v. II, p. 56, ed. Bonn).

⁵⁵ W. P. Warburton, *Edward III*, New York, 1887, p. 117.

⁵⁶ Emile Zola, *La Débâcle*, liv. I, chap. 4 (Paris, 1892), p. 78.

the legend as an outgrowth of the tribal name is not feasible, inasmuch as one would then have to answer the question of how the tribe came by its name. Nor is it possible to separate this tribal name from that of the Hirpini and from the bull of the Umbro-Sabellians. Let us note that these traditions are not restricted to Italy and the *ver sacrum*. According to an Arabic legend the Taiji were led into their settlements by a camel [41].⁵⁷ But it is the African continent which furnishes us with the clue of these traditions:⁵⁸

A peculiar ceremony is connected with changes of residence among the (Zulu) tribes. They amputate an entire hindquarter of a living cow and then let the poor animal run off. The tortured beast tries to flee, and the tribe follows it. In the direction in which it runs the new settlements will be found. If she returns to the village, this is regarded as a sign not to emigrate but to remain in the old settlements.

Leaving out of account the barbarity involved in the custom, this queer ceremony is the *alter ego* of the Italian and Arab traditions. There is therefore no reason to doubt the accuracy of the report handed down by the lexicographers and chroniclers. But it does not account for the woodpecker and the wolf in the other Italian traditions. The statement that the bird settled on the *vexillum* would seem to point to the likelihood that the woodpecker was no living bird but a wooden image fastened to a pole and serving as an emblem, much like the later Roman and Napoleon's eagles.⁵⁹ The same may have been true of the wolf of the Hirpini. In that case the animal cannot be separated from the name of the two tribes, which may have a totemic origin, as has sometimes been suspected. Such a theory would be considerably strengthened if analogous traditions could be shown to exist in countries where totemism is known and widespread, for example, among the native tribes of North America.



A new and rather different type of our theme turns up in Europe about the time of the great migration. Procopius of Caesarea tells the story of how the 'Cimmerians', i.e. the Huns, followed a stag across the Sea of Azov and, beholding the fertile fields on the other side, decided to invade that country [42].⁶⁰ Jordanes reports a similar story on the invasion of Scythia by the Huns: Hunnish hunters followed a hind through the Sea of Azov. On the opposite shore the animal suddenly disappeared; but the

⁵⁷ J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1897, p. 201.

⁵⁸ Carl Wiese, *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, XXXII (1900), p. 199.

⁵⁹ R. Much, *Die Germania des Tacitus*, Heidelberg, 1937, p. 109 f.

⁶⁰ *Bell. Goth.* IV. 5; cf. Karl Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, Leipzig, 1912, II, 4; Agathias, V. 11, p. 299, ed. Bonn; cf. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, II, 3; Sozomenos, *Hist. eccl.* VI. 37 (Migne, *P.G.*, LXVII, 1404): cf. Dieterich, II, 109; Grimm, *op. cit.*, II, 955.

hunters returned home full of praise of the country they had seen. This led to the invasion of that land by the Huns [43].⁶¹

The hind reappears in the pages of Gregory of Tours, who wrote in the sixth century. He relates at some length how the animal showed the Frankish king Clovis and his armed host a ford across the swollen Vienne when he marched out to conquer the heretic Goths [44].⁶² Elsewhere the same chronicler reports how the Burgundian general Mummolus, marching to the aid of Grenoble besieged by the Lombards, is shown a ford across the Isère by a 'wild animal' [45].⁶³

Once the theme had become popular, subsequent writers applied it with little discretion. Thus the compiler Fredegarius (II. 60) makes a similar "wild animal" show a ford through the Strait of Gibraltar to the Vandals and lead them from Spain into Mauretania [46]. It is of course clear that what is at least not beyond the realm of possibility in the case of a river or the very shallow Sea of Azov becomes utterly absurd in the present instance.

An ancestor of Paulus Diaconus, Leupchis by name, having been captured as a boy by the Avars, escapes from captivity and is guided by a wolf to the frontier of Italy [47].⁶⁴

A hind is said to have shown to the Franks, pursued by the Saxons, a ford across the river Main, at the site of the city of Frankfurt, which derives its name from this episode [48].⁶⁵ In Jean Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes* a stag crosses the Rhine and thereby indicates a ford at which the French army may cross over to the Saxon shore [49].⁶⁶ In *Fierabras* a deer leads Richard of Normandy across the swift current of the Flagot [50].⁶⁷

In the *Karlamagnus Saga* a white stag, at Charlemagne's prayer, passes the Gironde, thus indicating a safe ford to the Frankish army [51].⁶⁸ In the *Chevalerie Ogier* Charlemagne is guided by a white stag across the Alps, as he marches to rescue Rome from the hands of the Saracens [52].⁶⁹ In 971, at the siege of the castle of Marcq, near Givet, by Archbishop

⁶¹ Jordanes, c. 24; Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen* (1891), No. 379; cf. Pio Rajna, *Le origini dell'epopea francese*, Firenze, 1884, p. 251 f.

⁶² Greg. Tur., *Hist.* II. 37; cf. G. Kurth, *Histoire poétique des Mérovingiens*, Paris, 1898, p. 277; Rajna, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁶³ Greg. Tur., *Hist.* IV. 44.

⁶⁴ Paul. Diac. *Hist.*, IV. 37; cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 407.

⁶⁵ Thietmar of Merseburg, VII. 53, p. 245, ed. Wagner; cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 455.

⁶⁶ Léon Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*, Paris, 1878-97, III, 675; Rajna, p. 250.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁶⁸ Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, Paris, 1865, p. 261; Rajna, p. 250.

⁶⁹ Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 250; Rajna, p. 250.

Adalbaron of Rheims, a heifer, crossing the Meuse, indicated a ford to the besiegers [53].⁷⁰

This theme plays a major rôle in the discussions bearing on the alleged Teutonic origins of the Old French epic. It is however extremely doubtful whether it can be used to prove a Teutonic origin of anything so long as its strictly Teutonic provenance has not been determined first. No valid conclusion can of course be drawn from the popularity of the motive in the Frankish and German chroniclers. They all were familiar with Gregory of Tours or with Jordanes, and there is a likelihood that the former was familiar with Jordanes or with the latter's source, Cassiodorus. The testimony of Jordanes and of the Byzantines points to a Gothic or Hunnish source, and the surprising fact that our theme does not occur prior to the great migration and that it appears to be absent from England and Scandinavia certainly does not favor the thesis of its Teutonic origin. It appears to have originated in Southeastern Europe, on the shores of the Black Sea, and to have been diffused in Western Europe largely through learned media, the chronicles.

This conclusion is borne out by a fairly important fact: the survival of the tradition in that very region down to the late middle ages. True enough, no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from the recurrence of the story among the Hungarians [54];⁷¹ for it is well known that the Magyars down to modern times erroneously believed themselves the descendants of the Huns, and the adoption of the story by their chroniclers betrays a literary, not a popular, tradition. What is more significant is the story recorded by Ricold of Monte Croce, a thirteenth century traveller, of how the enclosed nations of Gog and Magog, identified with the Tatars, at last found their way beyond the mountains, guided by a hare and an owl. Hence, adds the traveller, wonderful is the honor they still pay to owls, whose feathers they wear in memory of their great deliverance [55].⁷² Sir John Mandeville and Jean d'Outremeuse have it that the same enclosed nations will burst out from their prison walls, albeit only at the time of the Antichrist's coming, by pursuing a fox [56].⁷³ It is worth noting, perhaps, that according to a Near Eastern tradition the Seldjuki, a Turco-Tatar tribe, were said to have been guided to their later settlements by a dog [57].⁷⁴

If we now consider the fact that none of the "Teutonic" traditions dis-

⁷⁰ *Hist. monast. mosomensis*, c. 8 (Pertz, *Scriptores* XIV, 605).

⁷¹ Michel Klimo, *Contes et légendes de Hongrie*, Paris, 1898, p. 113.

⁷² C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, London, 1897-1906, III, 194; Arturo Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, Torino, 1882-83, II, 553.

⁷³ Sir John Mandeville, *Voyages and Travels*, New York, 1900, c. 29, p. 176.

⁷⁴ Wellhausen, *op. et loc. cit.*

cussed antedates the Hunnish invasion of A.D. 375 and that the oldest attested variants directly attribute the incident to this very invasion, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the tale was originally a Hunnish tradition which gained a firm foot-hold in mediaeval Europe.

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At all events, the group of stories just passed in review has no connection with classical antiquity; they belong, whatever their ultimate origin, to Central and Western Europe. It is not thus with numerous saints' legends, to which we now turn.⁷⁵

A stag is said to have indicated the site of the future monastery of Beuren [58]⁷⁶ and also that of a chapel built by the Irish saint Feber, located near a holy well [59].⁷⁷ The choice of the animal appears to have been dictated by the important rôle of the stag in Christian symbolism.⁷⁸ On the other hand, if an elk is fabled to have shown the site of the monastery of Ellwangen, it is to be suspected that the tale was invented to explain the name of the convent.⁷⁹ A donkey laden with treasure stops at a place which is to be the site of the monastery of Marienberg [60];⁸⁰ two doves indicate the site of the convent of Steinach [61].⁸¹ Similar stories are told of the wonder-working image of Our Lady of Dronghen near Ghent [62]⁸² and of the foundation of Berger Church near Herford in Westphalia [63].⁸³ A white dove guides St. Sergius Stylites to the site where he is to erect the pillar on which he will spend the remainder of his life [64].⁸⁴ The last-named case cannot be separated from the rôle played by the dove in Syria long before the advent of Christianity.

The cow of the Boeotian legends cited above [1-4] turns up again in a considerable number of religious stories. Ramsey Abbey, on the isle of

⁷⁵ S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* B 155.1.

⁷⁶ A. Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, Freiburg i.Br., 1861-62, I, 393 f.

⁷⁷ S. Czarnowski, *Le culte des héros et ses conditions sociales. Saint Patrick, héros national de l'Irlande*, Paris, 1919, p. 225.

⁷⁸ For stags and hinds as guides in religious legends cf. also A. Müller, *Schweizerisches Archiv f. Volkskunde*, XVII (1913), p. 196 ff. On the stag in Christian allegory cf. W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, London, 1910, I, 370. Cf. also the beautiful lines by Francis Jammes:

Ainsi que le cerf soupire
Après la source des eaux,
Mon âme, ô Dieu, vous désire.

⁷⁹ A collection of such cases, which are probably very numerous, is highly to be desired.

⁸⁰ Ignaz V. Zingerle, *Sagen aus Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1891, No. 268, p. 165.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, No. 291, p. 175 f.

⁸² J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen*, Leipzig, 1845, p. 420 ff.

⁸³ H. Pröhle, *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1879, p. 132 f.

⁸⁴ Hans Lietzmann, *Byzantinische Legenden*, Jena, 1911, p. 11.

Ramsey, was founded by an alderman named Ailwin, according to a vision which had bidden him choose the site by watching his cattle and noting the spot where they would lie down at night [65].⁸⁵ A white cow guided Wilfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, to the spot where St. Kenelm's body was buried and where the healing well named after the martyred king afterwards sprang up [66]. A cow led a cowherd to the site where the wonder-working image of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was found between 1317 and 1322 [67].⁸⁶ The site of the chapel of St. Noyale in the Morbihan was shown by two young bulls fresh to the yoke [68], the grave and site of the shrine of St. Jagon, in the same district, by two oxen similarly unbroken [69]. Two unbroken young heifers carried the statue of St. Catherine, which had been discovered under a great stone, to the site of her chapel, after two oxen had refused the task [70].⁸⁷ Similar stories are fairly common in Ireland, where the guiding animals are oxen or swine.⁸⁸ A Durham tradition tells how the carriage bearing the coffin of St. Cuthbert was suddenly arrested on the site of what is now Durham. After prayer and fasting it was revealed to Eadmer that the saint should find his last resting place at Dunholme [71].⁸⁹ Legends narrating how the choice of the burial place of a saint or of a church to be constructed is left to a team of oxen, usually fresh to the yoke, abound all over Europe.⁹⁰

By way of parody our theme occasionally came to form the subject matter of merry tales. Thus an *exemplum* relates how the corpse of a usurer is placed on a wagon drawn by two oxen, which are left to lead it to a site most suitable for his last resting place. The clever animals stop under the gallows [72].⁹¹

The rôle of the dove in such legends has already been pointed out; but other birds also occur frequently. A hen indicates the site of a castle [73].⁹² Flodoard⁹³ relates how an eagle points out the site of a monastery [74]. A bird of the same species leads St. Gisleen, apostle of the Hainaut, to the bank of the river Haine, where he founds a convent. The tradition adds

⁸⁵ *Historia Ramesiensis* [Rolls Series, t. 83, p. 183-85].

⁸⁶ Acemel y Rubio, *Guía ilustrada del monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (1912), p. 12 f.

⁸⁷ Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Paris, 1904-1907, IV, 116.

⁸⁸ J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 209.

⁸⁹ W. Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, Durham, 1823, I, 95.

⁹⁰ H. Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 81; Ernst Schmidt, "Kultübertragungen," Giessen, 1910, p. 95 f. [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, VIII (2)]; L. Uhland, *Schriften* VIII, 559 f.; Friedrich Panzer, *Bayerische Sagen und Gebräuche*, München, 1848-55, I, 220 ff.; Thompson, *Motif-Index B* 155.3.

⁹¹ Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. Bolte, No. 197.

⁹² Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 570.

⁹³ *Hist. remens.* I. 24.

that a bear and an eagle were kept there in memory of the event [75].⁹⁴ Here something is evidently missing: one would expect the bear, too, to have a place in the story. Quite possibly the tradition originated in the very circumstance that specimens of the two animals were kept in cages near the convent, though the reason may have been quite different.⁹⁵

At all events, a bear does appear as a guide of Maximus of Noricum in the legend of St. Severinus [76].⁹⁶ Butterflies indicated the spot where St. Peter the Hermit was to be buried [77].⁹⁷

Few of these stories can lay claim to originality. Their clerical authors copied one another, and many of them were familiar with the corresponding classical stories. It must not be forgotten that we are here dealing with a type of fiction that is largely literary, not popular.

Nor is it likely that the theme of the guiding animal in North European religious legends owes its origin to Christianity; it may well have existed in pagan times. This conclusion is borne out, at all events, by the Votiak custom of breaking up the *kuala* or sanctuary whenever a sacrificial bull, about to be killed, happens to break loose, and of removing the building to the place where it is at last caught, the inference being that the latter spot is more pleasing to the *kuala* spirit [78].⁹⁸

Again among the Votiaks, when it is desired to consecrate a new grove (*lud*) to their ancient heroes, a magician bestrides a young foal that has never been ridden before, riding without bit or reins into the forest. The place where the animal stops is the site of the grove. They are said, however, to take good care that the grove is not at too great a distance from the village [79].⁹⁹

In some instances the nature of the guiding animal itself points to a pre-Christian origin of the tradition. Thus the Irish parish of Balteagh, County Down, was originally called *Baile-da-fhiach* or *Both-da-fhiach* 'town of the hut of the two ravens', preserving a tradition about two ravens which flew away with the plumb-line from the cemetery Rellick in the townland of Kilhoyle, where the parishioners were about to erect their church, to Ardmore, the townland where the site was at length fixed [80].¹⁰⁰ Now whatever may be thought of the story, which looks like an aetiological legend explaining the name of the town, it certainly is not Christian; for the raven, in truly Christian legends, appears only as the symbol of the Evil One.^{100a} But we have seen above that in Celtic antiquity

⁹⁴ J. W. Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen*, Leipzig, 1843, No. 140, p. 225.

⁹⁵ Cf. the bears kept in the *Zwinger* of Berne, Switzerland.

⁹⁶ Eugippus, *Vita Severin.*, c. 29; Rajna, p. 252.

⁹⁷ Günter, *op. et loc. cit.*

⁹⁸ Uno Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, Boston, Mass., 1927, p. 125.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰ P. W. Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, London, 1898, I, 257.

^{100a} Thompson, *Motif-Index* E 752.3; G 303. 3. 3. 13. 1.

the raven was the bird form of the great god Bran and that ravens guided the Celtic invaders into the Danube valley. Again the guiding raven in the *Vita* of St. William Firmatus, a Norman saint, who with its help finds his bearings in the desert [81],¹⁰¹ is as likely as not a survival from paganism. It is at least probable that the neutral 'birds' guiding Charlemagne in the *Iter Hierosolymitanum* hark back to the same Northern tradition [82].¹⁰²

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What is true of the majority of the religious legends, namely their essentially fictional character, is equally so of mediaeval romance of more secular inspiration. Nor is it an accident that several of the episodes in question should have a decidedly religious coloring: the influence of the saints' legends is clearly visible.

In the Grail Cycle a hermit is bidden by an angel to follow a strange beast with the head and neck of a sheep, as white as freshly fallen snow, with legs of a dog, completely black, and the remainder of its body resembling that of a fox, but with a lion's tail [83].¹⁰³ Again, Joseph of Arimathia is described as following a white stag escorted by four lions, which passes the river Colice as if it had been frozen [84].¹⁰⁴ It is difficult not to recognise in this fantastic story a silly elaboration of the ancient theme discussed above [42-46], [48], [51], [53]. In one of the continuations of Chrétien's *Conte del Grail*, Perceval follows a brachet which leads him to the Castle of the Chessboard [85].¹⁰⁵ The brachet reappears in the *Lai of Tyolet*, where it is to guide the hero to the stag with the white foot [86].¹⁰⁶ In the romance of *Durmart* the hero is bidden to follow a dog [87].¹⁰⁷ A serpent appears as a guide in the German romance of *Valentin und Namelos* [88].¹⁰⁸

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In his discussion of story [37], H. Günter¹⁰⁹ saw in it a plain *märchen* theme. Now it is quite true that the motive of the guiding beast occurs very frequently in fairy tales. In particular, the episode of an animal, usually a hind, luring the hero (while he is on the hunt) to the other

¹⁰¹ *A.A.S.S.*, Aprilis, III, 338.

¹⁰² F. Castets, *Revue des langues romanes*, XXXVI (1892), p. 446-48; cf. J. Nothomb, *Romania*, LVI (1930), p. 191 ff.

¹⁰³ Paulin Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1868-77, I, 162 f.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 311.

¹⁰⁵ Jessie L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, London, 1906-1909, I, 269.

¹⁰⁶ Ed. Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), v. 369 f.

¹⁰⁷ Ed. E. Stengel [Bibliothek d. Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CXVII], v. 1739.

¹⁰⁸ Arthur Dickson, *Valentine and Orson*, New York, 1929, p. 53 f.

¹⁰⁹ *Buddha in der abendländischen Legende?* Leipzig, 1922, p. 175.

world, is very common and has been studied repeatedly.¹¹⁰ In a wide-spread story (Grimm, No. 9), the sister who is to redeem her bewitched brothers, is led to the latter's abode by a little dog, a hare, a magpie, or a raven [89].¹¹¹ In an Icelandic tale a princess is bidden to mount a horse and to let it go where it listeth [90].¹¹² In three other tales, from the same country, the guide is a bitch [91].¹¹³ In a Portuguese story the heroine is told to let two horses be her guides; where they will stop of their own accord, there she will find what she is in quest of [92].¹¹⁴ In much the same manner Libuše's horse guides her messengers to the field where Přemysl is ploughing [93].¹¹⁵ In the French poem of the *Mule sans Frein* Gauvain is told to let the mule guide him to the castle where he is to find the bridle which the fair heroine desires him to fetch [94].¹¹⁶

To the *genre* of fairy tales must be reckoned the Indian story of Tulisa, which is only a version of the wide-spread *Cupid and Psyche* theme. There the heroine is led to the nest of the mysterious Huma bird by bees and squirrels [95].¹¹⁷ The stork which in a modern Greek variant of the ancient Demeter myth guides the mourning Demetra in search of her daughter abducted by a Turk, is also a true fairy-tale bird [96].¹¹⁸ This also holds true for the bullfinch which guides a little girl on the road to Stockholm in one of E. M. Arndt's Pomeranian tales [97].¹¹⁹

The number of examples could be vastly increased without much profit; for the rôle of the guiding beast in *märchen* is natural enough in view of the large number of animal helpers occurring in this type of folk-literature. Since the quest theme is also most frequent in popular fiction, it was equally natural to enlist the animal helper as a safe guide of hero or heroine.

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The material surveyed thus far comprises only Europe and Western Asia with Egypt, i.e., generally speaking, the countries where civilisation has been established for millenia. Examples from other continents are none too numerous; still, they are not entirely lacking.

¹¹⁰ C. Pschmidt, *Die Sage von der verfolgten Hinde*, Greifswald, 1911; M. B. Ogle, *American Journal of Philology*, XXXVII (1916), p. 387-416.

¹¹¹ Bolte-Polívka, *Märchen-Anmerkungen* I (1913), p. 72, n. 1.

¹¹² A. Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, Halle, 1902, p. 19.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 158, 175, 195.

¹¹⁴ Consiglieri-Pedroso, *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, London, 1882, p. 57.

¹¹⁵ *Revue Hispanique*, XLVI (1919), p. 528.

¹¹⁶ Ed. R. Th. Hill (Baltimore, 1911), v. 92 f.

¹¹⁷ Bolte-Polívka, *op. cit.*, II, 259 f.

¹¹⁸ J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-Lore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 81.

¹¹⁹ E. M. Arndt, *Märchen und Jugenderinnerungen*, Leipzig, 1913, I, 225.

According to Oldendorp, the Mandingos, a negro tribe of the Western Sudan, worshipped the pig and would not eat its flesh because a pig had, by chance, conducted an army of Mandingos to a well [98].¹²⁰ Max Müller, in all seriousness, used this tale as an argument against Andrew Lang and his school, to show that a food taboo may have other causes than totemism. There is of course no need to enter upon a discussion of the question of the origins of food-taboos. It is sufficient to point out that this particular tradition is nothing but an aetiological story, invented to explain the taboo of pork, the true reason of which had been forgotten.

There is some evidence to show that the pre-Columbian Indians had traditions of much the same type. Thus, according to an Aztek tale, the humming-bird called out "Tihui", meaning, "Let us move on!" and thus induced the Azteks to leave their homeland Aztlan and to migrate to Mexico [99].¹²¹ Although the extant texts are silent on the subject, it may be inferred with reasonable certainty that the humming-bird flew in advance of the host, pointing the way to the tribe's new abodes. The humming-bird, it should be added, appears to have been the bird form of the great Mexican god Huitzilopochtli.



There remains a set of stories relating how a man, enclosed in a cave, finds his way out by following an animal. One of the oldest known versions is the one recorded by Pausanias (IV. 18. 6-7) [100]:

Aristomenes, the leader of the Messenians, was taken prisoner by the Lacedaemonians and thrown into a gorge without issue, there to perish miserably. On the third day of his captivity he noticed a fox feeding on the corpses of victims thrown there previously. He seized the tail of the animal and let himself be dragged along, till he came to a narrow opening, through which the fox escaped. Thus, all he had to do was to enlarge the opening and to escape in his turn.

This tale has a striking parallel in the *Arabian Nights*:¹²²

On his fourth voyage, Sindbad the Sailor arrives in a foreign land whose king gives him his daughter in marriage. When she dies he is compelled, by the law of the land, to suffer himself to be lowered with the corpse into a cave. One day he hears a noise, produced by an aquatic animal which had penetrated into the cave. By following it, he discovers an opening and saves himself [101].

This theme appears to have been rather popular in the Arabic world, since slightly different versions are found in other parts of the *Nights*:

¹²⁰ F. Max Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, London, 1897, I, 199.

¹²¹ L. Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 245.

¹²² Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VII, 19.

in the *Prince of Carizme*,¹²³ in *Cogia Muzaffer* (where the guiding animal is a serpent which the hero seizes by the tail),¹²⁴ and in *Djamasp* (where the animal is a scorpion and where the hero is marooned in a pit by treacherous companions).¹²⁵ Finally, in the thirteenth Vezir's story of the Turkish *Forty Vezirs* the setting is much the same as in the *Prince of Carizme*.¹²⁶

The episode of the hero marooned in a pit by faithless companions reappears in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, a translation of Sanskrit stories going back to the first century of Buddhism [102]:¹²⁷

A man who had acquired precious pearls with a good deal of trouble to himself is deprived of them by treacherous companions, who throw him into a pit where he is expected to die of starvation. Some time later, the victim discovers a lion which had slipped into the pit by a lateral opening to quench his thirst. By following the lion, the hero finds the opening and saves himself.

The story still exists in Indian folk-lore,¹²⁸ and there can be no reasonable doubt about its antiquity in that country.

Of this theme it has been stated that it very probably has a basis in reality.¹²⁹ Now, while it may be frankly admitted that the feat may have happened repeatedly and in different places, the details given are far too specific to admit of such an explanation. Thus, if we are told that the hero was marooned in a pit by treacherous companions both in the Arabic *Djamasp* and in the Sanskrit original of the Chinese compilation, it is obvious that we are dealing with one and the same story, which must have been current both in India and in Persia. It is more difficult to decide whether or not the Greek tale of Pausanias goes back to the same or to a related Oriental archetype. The chronology would not stand in the way of such an 'Oriental' hypothesis: most of the stories told about Aristomenes are frankly Hellenistic and certainly do not go farther back than the restoration of the Messenian state by Epaminondas. By that time Oriental influences are well attested in continental Greece. On the other hand, Aristomenes was evidently one of those heroes of legend to whom many floating themes and motives might be attributed long after his death.

The great popularity of the *Nights* probably accounts for the reappearance of our theme in other parts of the Arabic world¹³⁰ and even in

¹²³ *Ibid.*, VII, 76.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 165.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 255.

¹²⁶ Transl. Gibb (London, 1886), p. 154 f.

¹²⁷ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, II, 101; S. Julien, *Contes et apologues indiens*, Paris, 1860, II, 43 ff.

¹²⁸ Sir Lucas King, *Folk-Lore*, XXXVIII (1927), p. 385 f.

¹²⁹ C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin, 1910-31, II (2), p. 656.

¹³⁰ René Basset, *Contes populaires berbères*, Paris, 1887, p. 195-97.

European popular fiction of Oriental inspiration.¹⁸¹ What is certain is that we are dealing with story migrations and literary borrowings.

There remains the question: Did the theme arise in the Near East, or is it of Indian origin? Its occurrence in the *Tripitaka* would seem to throw a good deal of doubt upon the matter, and the fact that there exist more Near Eastern than Indian variants can of course not be used as an argument in favor of a Near Eastern origin.

Now it has been pointed out that if the theme has a basis in fact, this basis can only be sought in caves of the type common in lime stone formations. Such caves are known, and frequently referred to, in the highlands of Armenia, along the divide of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. It is there that another widely popular theme based on the same peculiarity originated, the tale of the *Subterraneous Voyage*.¹⁸² If this fact is connected with the evident popularity of our theme in Arabic-speaking countries and if it is recalled that the story of the *Subterraneous Voyage* goes back into Babylonian antiquity, it will be admitted that the Sanskrit versions at the basis of the Chinese texts are not products of Indian soil but were carried thither from the Near East, presumably from Armenia, many centuries prior to the rise of Buddhism.



The foregoing survey should have brought out a number of significant facts as important for the history of the stories discussed as they are for the methodology of folklore research in general. It is a common fallacy to assume that a folk-lore theme such as the one just reviewed must have one single fountain-head. Such is certainly not the case. Like many products of popular fiction, it unquestionably has a basis in reality, or even several bases. One of these is the well-attested custom of the use of guiding birds by primitive navigators [19], [39], [40]. Another is the no less attested custom of desert-dwellers of trusting the scent of their animals to discover hidden wells [35], [36]. A third is the correct observation that ravens and crows will accompany marching armies [20], [21], [38]. A fourth seems to be derived from actual experience of men shut up in caves formed by the action of water in lime stone formations [100-102]. A fifth is apparently an outgrowth of another ancient custom, well attested among primitive peoples both in Africa and Asia [7-9], [41], [78-79]. Presumably quite a number of Christian foundation legends [65-71] have no other basis. In none of these examples can the guiding beast be plausibly shown to have been a 'totem' animal. There are a few border cases where such a totemic basis may be dimly discerned [16], [23], [99], and perhaps [38], that is, altogether four out of a total of roughly 100 versions.

¹⁸¹ G. Nerucci, *Sessanta novelle popolari montalesi*, Firenze, 1891, p. 398 ff.

¹⁸² Philological Quarterly, XX (1941), p. 119-30.

A second large group, which clearly presupposes the existence of the first, though fictitious, is not wholly so inasmuch as it attempts to explain a name, a rite, or some local peculiarity; it is therefore aetiological. To this group belong the many stories attempting to explain a place name [45], [9], [14-15], [27], [30], [80], a rite [11], a taboo [98], or the custom of keeping certain animals in a cage near a monastery [75].

A third large group is purely fictitious, grown out of the common *märchen* motive of the animal helper. It is quite certain that the animal guide of fairy tales has influenced certain religious tales. For example, the white dove which leads the pupils of St. Adelgis out of the forest into the presence of the saint,¹³³ can hardly be separated from the guiding birds of [89]. The *märchen* has also affected mediaeval fiction in general, and the brachet of [85-86] does not differ essentially from the guiding bitch of [91]. But to derive, as Günter proposed, all these stories from the *märchen* goes much too far: the tone of the ancient traditions discussed at the outset of this study is much too sober, too matter-of-fact, to admit of such an easy explanation.

We leave open the question of the origin of the Turco-Tatar traditions of guiding animals which were first carried to Europe by the Huns and then found favor with the mediaeval chroniclers. Some totemic facts may possibly lurk behind these stories, buried in the far past of a nomad people of whose religious beliefs we know nothing. But even admitting that such is the case, this would not strengthen very much the thesis of those who, following the traces of the late Andrew Lang, imagined they could see in the theme of the Animal Guide a clear and unmistakable survival of totemic beliefs and practices.

Princeton, N. J.

¹³³ Günter, *op. et loc. cit.*